/2 cont./

The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, because of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men are foregathering, the women must be near by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

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585 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodoncillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaguars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses.

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural patterns in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or anxiety, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return; or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other woman may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

[98 cont.]

224 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

173 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown...."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called
ranfa in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[779] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the
contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colom-
[171] bia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca,
Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being
exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this
belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was
initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these
notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable
reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal
for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now
express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms
through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these
same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and
kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of
people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terri-
ble races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with
the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and every-
day more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América
[The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios
Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very gen-
eral belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they
should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the
course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and
sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bush I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Goajira with grain food. Many small low castes of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Parashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both seas, reaches 350 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilete, divi-divi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Ruma. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1950 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ruma.

Some 15 miles south of Ruma, Guajarepa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Aceite of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Goajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jallaruro from a rancho at the foot of Guajarepa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ataipa. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in broadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yuripiche, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2800 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Auipana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Parashi, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or Rubber Indians. The celebrated Tota Goajira may be considered as belonging to this range, for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Goajira, and

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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririües, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Soouanas, Arapainayúes, Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tigor frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the Ipuanas and Jussyues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jussyues, and near Las Guardias at Guareroo, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyochipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Mampain, a Josayú, lords it all about the Tota; and Morejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

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579 648 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

342 The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The [513] rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tchepoi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palámater*) [417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. 361 621 The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is [712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the [552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct [423] name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are 103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha 443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta 592 Espada, is Guarorpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. 621 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémumao; chief, José Agustin, a Jallariá, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epicyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merumay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epicyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

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88 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 [579] Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stopping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable [583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) [684] he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 769 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can 583 dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

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585 [981] Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

593 [264] When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his hammock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

[574] When the husband's friends or other people come to see him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her [278] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know, [579] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life [762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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765 The old man, however, was familiar with the customs of
5.5 olden days and had taken what they had forgotten to give him, calculating generously in his own favour. Strictly he was entitled to no more than a kid, if that, poor relation that he was; but he had appropriated one of his host's calves.

Our young Indian friend thought this an excellent idea, and as we happened to be riding past a herd of goats belonging to the house of mourning, he asked me to lend him my shot-gun, dismounted and shot two goats, which he then lashed on to his pack-animal. He paid no attention to the protests of the slave guarding the herd, who of course did not dare do anything to anyone so well dressed and so obviously a person of rank. He gruffly told the slave that he had the law on his side. This put the young Indian in a better humour, and he took a smiling leave of us.

765 We were invited to several other funeral feasts while we
5.7 were in Guajira. Both the actual burial and the after-funeral were in the same style. Often they were quite gay affairs—especially the repeat performance, when the grief was not so intense even with the immediate relatives. Often fights resulted. On the way home from Mauana's dance we had met people on their way back from a funeral who were quarrelsome. It sometimes happens that a person attending a funeral is killed. He is then taken home and most of the guests accompany him to continue celebrating in that new house of sorrow.

The funeral ritual is observed strictly and in detail. Children must learn it early and therefore are allowed to go to such feasts.

On the more important events the medicine man gives advice and directions, so let us now turn to him.

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Hills, the most dangerous part of the peninsula. There were no chiefs there, no cattle and no other Indians than chance travellers. The new member of our company, however, proved to be lazy and useless from the very first. Francisco had got it into his head that the mestizo had sent his slave with us in order to steal my double-barrelled gun—for which he had asked in return for hiring us the donkeys, an offer that I pretended to take as a jest, since such a gun was worth its weight in gold in Guajira. The mestizo's slave boasted to Francisco that he had killed an Indian, so Francisco went in fear that he would try to kill me in order to get the gun. It certainly was not as bad as that. The man was really quite timid and everybody had their eye on him.

Now began the exciting part of our journey. As we were to go quite close to the dreaded hills, I consulted the only reliable authority I had, the English engineer, Simmons's, account of them. 'As far as the terrible Cusina are concerned,' he wrote, 'it must be pointed out that their name in the Guajiro tongue means "thief", "brigand". They are not a distinct clan or sub-division, as is sometimes maintained. They have been accused of being cannibals—Reclus, the geographer, wrote that the Guajiro tremble at the thought of being roasted and eaten by them. This, however, is incorrect and there is no proof of any such thing. It is true that the Guajiro fear them and will not pass their haunt, unless they are numerous enough to defend themselves and their herds; but their fear is that which people always have of robbers and brigands, when they have property to protect. In actual fact, it is difficult to find a Guajiro who does not have a relation among the Cusina.' He then gives some examples of this, and continues: 'These Cusina are nothing but a band of robbers expelled from their clans as a result of quarrels, murder or theft, and thereby compelled to plunder in order to live. In order to be better able to defend themselves and to have more success in attack, they have joined together in larger and smaller bands under recognized leaders. Thus they can organize plundering expeditions. If they find themselves strong enough, they will surprise less

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numerous and worse armed companies and take what they have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinca, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it.

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only keep goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance.

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we

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hit upon the idea of stuffing our two canvas gun covers with maize and other things and letting the other two Indians carry them. In that way, it looked as though we were all armed, at least from a distance.

Thus we began our march past the brigands' hills.

The Cusina were always active at night, when they would at least try to steal our animals. We decided to travel by night and camp and sleep during the day. As long as the sun was up, there was little danger of attack. Also it was cooler travelling at night, for the heat there was terrible by day, since the hills shut off the breeze, the eternal north-east trade wind, and there was no shade. Luckily Francisco and the Indian slave-worker knew where to look for water. The casimbas there were mostly covered over and intended only for the initiated. The water was everywhere bad, turbid and brackish.

We were not able to carry out our plan in its entirety. As long as there was moonlight, we could ride, but in the evenings we had to rest, water the animals and wait for the moon. When the animals were to be watered, they had to be unsaddled and their packs stacked.

By the water-hole to which we went the first evening was an abandoned, tumble-down ranch. This was apparently the scene of an incident of which we had heard in Castilletes and also from Antonio. Despite warnings, a young Indian of a chief's family had foolishly taken it into his head to ride alone past the Cusina Hills. He had a Winchester rifle and rode a very good, fast horse, and so thought that he could get away from any of the Cusina, who were seldom mounted. However, he had to water his horse in the evening, as we had, and the Cusina had fallen upon him then, killed him, cut out his heart and taken his horse and rifle. Thus we had no need to fear any lack of alertness or caution on our Indians' part at that spot. We went on as soon as the moon had risen.

We rested during the worst of the heat, using a tent cloth to shield us from the sun. The grazing was wretched. The animals could only find one blade here, another there, and we had already begun to ration their maize, since our

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Indians also had to have some of it. Fortunately, we had plenty of oatmeal, and we got the Indians to eat porridge. 579

The Indians we met, almost all on foot, were well armed with lots of arrows and often a gun and a well-stuffed cartridge belt besides. Custom required that all we met should be given tobacco, but the Cusina being reputed expert at seizing an outstretched hand and pulling a rider off his horse, we did as the Indian chiefs do and without pulling up threw a cigar to those we met with a gay injunction to catch it. [576]

The shadowy figures that slipped away among the cactus trees when we met them by night were most suspicious. Those were not pleasant encounters. Even by moonlight anyone could see that we were three white people, but whether the shadows were Cusina or others with bad consciences we could not tell. Our large packages must have looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted of Indian things, that is to say, our collections. The brigands would have been disappointed if they had opened them!

The hills we now had to the north of us were quite different in character from the gentle Macuira Hills. Tall, menacing masses of stone rose up here and there flanked by razor-sharp ridges. In the naked, grim ravines among them dwelled the Cusina, spying out across the plain from the verges of secret precipices, like vultures looking for their prey. One evening, we came to another abandoned rancho beside a casimba. We had already unsaddled and stacked the packs, when we discovered that the casimba was empty. The Indians knew there was another water-hole not far away. The animals had to be watered, so despite the risk involved, we had to split up. [133]

We three white people stayed with the baggage, while the Indians went off with the animals and our water-vessels. My wife had fever and had to lie down, which she did with her little pistol beside her. Gladtvet and I kept watch, rifle in hand. We had piled the baggage on a slight eminence, so that even in the darkness we had a certain view of our surroundings. Meanwhile our men had vanished in thick dividivi scrub, in which anyone but an Indian would have got

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helplessly lost. This scrub would also have permitted any Cusina to sneak up quite close to us without being seen.

Francisco had said that it was not far to the water-hole, but they did not come back. An hour passed, then another. The situation was becoming really unpleasant. Suddenly, two muffled shots sounded in the distance. What had happened?

We had not agreed on any shot signals, though we had given Francisco one of our guns. Was it he who had fired, or the Cusina? Whoever it was, it was best to show that we were prepared, so we fired one shot with my shot-gun, the rifle only making a sharp little crack. Then there was silence. The echo rolled away towards the grim, sterile hills, and before it had died away, we heard the rustling of small frightened little animals dashing away. Some night birds lifted on noiseless wings. Then both we and Nature round us held our breath. We heard no more shots. But *if* the first shots had meant that the Cusina were attacking, we could expect to hear from them too. If they had not seen us before, they now knew that there were people both in the scrub down by the water-hole and on the hillock. And if the Cusina had overwhelmed our men and taken our animals, what were we to do in the most barren, desolate and dangerous part of Guajira?

Ssh! What was that? Something was moving in the scrub, where our men had disappeared. The moon was just rising and we could see quite well. A little shape slipped out from the edge of the scrub and vanished with light, swift, silent bounds out on to the savanna. It was a deer. Presumably it was off to lick the dew from the cactus flowers. One could well understand that this lovely animal with its gentle, mournful eyes spent its life going from flower to flower.

The absence of our men was becoming really alarming. At last we heard voices. We listened intently. Yes, it was Francisco calling. We shouted back. Soon we could also hear the animals snorting. There was no doubt. All was well. Then they emerged from the scrub and we learned the explanation.

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The second water-hole had also proved to be dry, when they eventually found it. However, the chief's slave-worker, who was supposed to want to get my shot-gun, had known that there was a third water-hole some distance away. Francisco had never trusted the man, and no doubt had his reasons, but there was nothing to do but to follow him. It had been quite a long distance to this third water-hole and it had taken a lot of finding. The slave had not been sure of the way; but with their wonderful instinct they had reached it, and there was water in it.

Thus the slave had not deceived them, but Francisco had still felt uncomfortable. That was when he had fired the two shots. He wanted an answering signal so as to know that nothing had happened to us. I pointed out that the shots could have drawn the Cusina down on him. He had not thought of that, not being especially bright. However, we were no longer split up and the animals had had all the water they could drink. It was time to move on and we kept going till the heat of the coming day forced us to rest.

We flung ourselves down under a cactus and hung up a piece of canvas to protect us from the sun. The Indians made a fire with two pieces of stick and some dry horse-dung. This they fed with cactus branches and then put a pot of sea-water over the fire. Had they gone crazy, we asked.

No, Francisco told us, they were going to cure the animals of their tiredness. And hastily he added that the treatment was external.

When the water was hot the Indians took calabashes, filled them and poured the water over the animals' legs. The poor brutes leaped and jumped. The water was too hot and I pointed this out. Francisco explained that this was a recognized way of curing tired legs and pointed out that the animals had not been so lively for weeks. However, they cannot have liked the treatment much, for when the Indians approached with their 'medicine', they moved away. I forbade them to use scalding water; but when it had cooled somewhat they continued, expertly flinging calabash after

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calabash of salt water over the animals' legs. The fact remains that both riding and pack animals trotted along considerably more briskly that day.

The following day we could see Jepitz, solitary cone-shaped hill of the savannas, blue in the distance. The Cusina Hills had withdrawn. The worst of the danger from bandits must now be over, we thought. We were to learn, however, that the bandits made longer raids than we had imagined.

If we had now set course for Jepitz, or La Teta as the Creoles called it, we could have cut across western Guajira to Rio Hacha, a short cut that would have taken only a few days. We had other plans, however. We wanted to go into Venezuela, to which Southern Guajira and the coast up to Castilletes belongs, and visit the Sinamaica lagoons where, on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, live the Paraujano Indians, the Guajiro's nearest relatives. While the Guajiro's country is as dry as a desert, one could almost call the Paraujano water Indians, for they live in pile-dwellings out in the water. We knew that they did not retain as much of their original culture as did the Guajiro, though they still dwelt as their ancestors had, but even so we felt that it would be interesting to visit them. Also, as we had to admit to ourselves, the thought of all that water was tempting after going short for so long. There were still wide savannas ahead of us, but we knew that the worst was over.

We now came across a minor chief with his herds. He had camped under some trees and welcomed us with exaggerated friendliness, but then both he and his men had already had one over the eight. However, they were still at the merry stage, though fighting would inevitably come later. The chief had bought no small quantity of spirits. There was a whole row of kegs. When he heard that we intended to continue, which obviously grieved him considerably, he tried to press one of these kegs on us. We were to take it and drink his health on our way. We managed with considerable difficulty to decline the gifts and instead received a hammock, sandals and some arrows, which we valued much more. Then off we went.

The savanna was almost bare and we could not hang up

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
571 all paths unsafe"(6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

58

58 MARRIAGE--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of marriage. Marriage is a socially sanctioned relationship between a man and a woman involving economic cooperation and residential and sexual cohabitation. The culturally patterned norms of this relationship regularly specify who may and may not enter into it, how it may be established and terminated, and what each partner may and may not do within it. As a relationship, marriage is to be distinguished sharply from the family, the social group within which it is typically embedded.

/xiv cont./

individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

/xv cont./

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182 -- the basis of the family -- that the individual makes contact with other family cells, with different clan groups, and, together, with the social group in general. It can be affirmed without fear of error that marriage is, both directly and indirectly, vitally important to the whole social organization of La Guajira, to its economic systems as well as to aspects of the spiritual life of the community, as in it one finds the security and stability of the clan group, the fundamental basis of La Guajira organization. On looking into certain aspects of customary law among these indigeneous people, one can appreciate that this is effective only if the clan group which considers itself the injured party has sufficient power to enforce the required compensation payments, or indemnities; otherwise, the law will not function. And, as it is the clan and, in the final analysis, the small family group which has to stand up to aggressions against the code for individual and collective security, making itself in this way the true representative of the individual, one can gather how great is the importance of the institution of marriage in Guajiro life.

000 We do not wish to finish this introduction without recording our grateful appreciation to the director of the Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licentiate Luis Duque Gómez, for all the facilities he has put at our disposal in making this study and to our fellow expedition members, who at all times assisted us in the collection of data. We are also especially indebted to my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, who supplied various reports obtained in the field for this study, and who at all times lent his collaboration in its ordering and presentation. /xvi/